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RESUMES AND RECOMMENDATIONS FORWARDED FROM MKD

Allen, George 2-11  
Altmayer, Jay P. 2-18  
Anderson, Ronald E. (Corres)  
Anton, Jan R. 3-5  
Arrington, Gloria W.  
Bennett, Mike 3-20 (Memo to M.Friedersdorf)  
Binswanger, Walter Max 2-5  
Blackwell, Morton 2-18  
Bond, Jim (Ltr. to M.E. Becker 3-20)  
Boston, Thomas S. 3-20 (Memo to R. Manning)  
Boyles, John Ellwood 2-10  
Brown, Wm. J. 3-19  
Brunsdale, Louise 2-2  
Bundy, Louise 2-23  
Bundy, Philip Edward 2-23  
Burmeister, Jan L.  
Bushong, David  
Butler, Merrill 3-19  
Campbell, Michael Lee (To F. Hodsell 2-24)  
Canby, Mary Margaret  
Caputo, Bruce 3-27  
Casey, Donna Miller  
Chennault, Anna C.  
Clark, Robert Marvin 2-2  
Corsi, Joe 2-2

Dickerson, G. R. 2-10  
Di Martina, Rita (Ltr to Kilbourn 3-20)  
Donovan, James F. 3-5  
Dooley, Mary E. 3-25  
Doherty, Vincent R. 3-30  
Drenick, Mary 1-28  
Driscoll, Robert W. 2-21 and 3-6  
Durrenberger, Kathleen M. 2-18  
Early, Robert S. 3-24  
Eyre, Gary A. 2-20  
Fallen, Aston A.F. 2-3  
Fitzgerald, Mike  
Foxcroft, Granger C. 2-25  
Garfield, Mary Lee 2-18  
George, Judge Ronald 2-11 and 2-12  
George, Sam 2-3  
Gerard, Jean B. S. 3-24  
Glauberman, Steven L. 2-21  
Goeske, Janet 3-19  
Goldstein, Harvey A. 3-13 (Memo to E. Gray)  
Grayson, E. C. 2-21  
Green, Andrew W. 3-27  
Green, Stewart 3-20 (Ltr to Mc Connell)  
Griffin, Steven 2-5 and 3-3 (2-5 No ltr)  
Gulan, Stephen R. 1-28  
Hall, James M. 2-21



Hamilton, William W.  
 Hansen, Jake A. 3-19  
 Hefley, W. Phillip 3-5  
 Henderson, Wanda  
 Herdman, David T.  
 Hess, Bart Glenn  
 Hesse, Rayburn F.  
 Heydinger, Ted  
 Hodge, Karney 2-25 3-24  
 Hoffman, Patricia 3-3  
 Holig, Nancy  
 Holsclaw, Kevin P. 2-24  
 Honig, Nancy  
 Huber, D. Gravatt 3-19  
 Hughes, Dr. J. Patrick 1-30 Hickey  
 Hughes, Norm 3-24  
 Hunt, Olive 2-20  
 Jaques, David B. 3-30  
 Jessup, John Ivey 3-24  
 Johnston, James C. 2-13  
 Jones, Raymond 2-4  
 Jorgenson, Mrs. Earle  
 Kaplan, Susan 2-11  
 Kemp, A. 2-12  
 Kingsley, Eleanor (Memo to C. Fuller 2-27)

Law, Edward A. 2-10  
 Lack, Steven 2-11  
 Layson, Walter W.  
 Leon, Enrique (Ltr to Kilbourn 3-20)  
 Lewis, Gale M. 2-23  
 MacKenzie, Scott B. 2-25  
 Maduro, Reynaldo (Ltr to Kilbourn 3-20)  
 Maino, Theodore C. 1-30  
 Marshall, Ernest T.  
 Martin, Mary  
 Mattox, Verna  
 Melanson, Ed  
 Marks, Carolene W.  
 Mc Cann, William E.  
 Mc Carthy, Vern I. 2-3  
 Mc Coy, Janet J.  
 Mc Intyre, Ron 3-30  
 Mc Master, William D. 1-28  
 Metters, Sam 3-30  
 Mc Kee, Clarence V. 2-24  
 Mc Manus, Mike 2-9 and 2-18  
 Milkman, Raymond H.  
 Mobley, Steven G. 2-5  
 Morgan, Edgar 2-20  
 Moorehead, Dave 3-20 (Ltr to Mr. Camp)  
 Nazeer, Freda 2-3  
 Okura, K. Patrick 3-16  
 Olson, Carl 2-9

O'Neill, Danny 2-3  
Penberthy, K. Voith  
Petersen, Donald E. 2-11  
Plotnicov, Miriam D. PB  
Proctor, John M.  
Reed, Joseph 3-13 (Memo to B. Clark and W. Borchert 3-12)  
Rehak, Gregory 2-25  
Richmond, Stephanie  
Rios, George (Ltr to Kilbourn 3-20)  
Roberts, Norman 3-12  
Roberts, Steven R. 2-13  
Rockefeller, Edwin S.  
Rodgers, Joe M. 2-2  
Romney, Maureen 2-21  
Sadleir, Wm K. Fws w/o ltr  
Sage, Paul L.  
Salzberg, Bambi L.  
Sanders, James C. 2-17 and 3-3  
Sanders, Les 3-11 (See ltr to J. Jachens)  
Sanders, Sandy 3-5  
Sato, Charlotte P.  
Sayre, William A. 2-23  
Schma, Donald W. 2-18  
Seeligson, Ramona 2-18 To Morgan Mason fm Atty Gen Smith  
Seminoff, Craig 2-24

Sharman, William J. 2-2  
Smith, George D. 3-12  
Smith, Larry R.  
Steffes, George R. 3-6  
Stern, Rennie 2-2  
Stewart, Christopher  
Stines, Judith A. 2-23  
Stratton, James E. (Ltr to P. Boone 3-11)  
Strenger, Sanford 3-6  
Stubblefield, Lloyd M. 2-11  
Sutherland, Martha 2-18  
Taggart, Lloyd M. 2-11  
Tristani, Dennis Chavez 2-2  
Urban, Maryanne 2-3  
Van Court, Arthur  
Vaughn, Cobb G. 1-28  
Waite, Rex 2-10  
Watson, Valdean Max 2-23  
Williams, Leonard W.  
Williams, Eleanor Lyons (File)  
Williams, Russel 2-10  
Winston, Henry C. (See ltr to P. Boone 3-11)  
Winzeler, Robert C.  
Wolff, Morris H.  
Wong, Susan J. 3-3 and 3-5

Woodroff, Claude H.

Wooten, Michael (Ltr fm J. Moorhead 3-13)

Wyshak, Lillian Worthing

Yohn, Jefferson Davis 2-2

Young, J. D. 1-28

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1981

Dear Jeff:

Thank you very much for sending on the report from the National News Council.

It was very interesting, and I have passed it on to the President and Mrs. Reagan.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Jeffrey Bell  
112 W. State Street  
Trenton, N. J. 08608

JEFFREY BELL  
TRENTON, NEW JERSEY

March 22

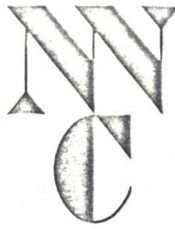
Dear Mike,

I thought you and the Reagans  
might be interested in this finding  
by the National News Council, of which  
I'm a member, against the

L. A. Herald Examiner for its

imputation of anti-Semitism to  
the Reagans shortly before the  
election. While there is really  
no way to repair the human damage  
caused by such irresponsible journalism,  
I was glad the Council spoke out  
so strongly on the matter.

All the best,

COMPLAINT NO. 186

(Filed: January 26, 1981)

RUPERT ALLAN  
against  
LOS ANGELES HERALD EXAMINER

Nature of complaint: Rupert Allan, a long-time friend of President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan, complained that he had been erroneously quoted about the Reagans in a feature article published just before the election in the Los Angeles Herald Examiner and syndicated nationally as part of a series. Mr. Allan said he was interviewed by reporters Caroline Cushing and Wanda McDaniel because of his knowledge of the Reagans' life style. He charged that the article violated his request not to be quoted personally about anything he said and that, more importantly, it was totally in error in attributing to him two statements: (1) "The Reagans are drowning in rich friends" and (2) "She will make the White House comfortable with good food, cocktails and lunches. All their non-Jewish friends will be there."

Mr. Allan complained: "I never made a statement on either subject, and I did not say those two quotes." Mr. Allan asked for a retraction, but did not pursue it when told by Editor James Bellows, that the paper was willing to publish a letter, but would add an editor's note saying both writers confirmed he made the quotes and more. "(Mr. Bellows') proposed statement," Mr. Allan said in his complaint, "would only have added fuel to the fire and do more harm." He provided copies of his denials of the statements as carried in other newspapers.



(Council note: Because the examination of this complaint resulted in later exchanges with the Herald Examiner and would complicate ready understanding of the competing issues if contained in The Council's normal "response" form, what follows is the newspaper's first reply. Subsequent comments by the editors are covered as they were made during the assessment).

Response of news organization: In a letter February 9, 1981, Editor Bellows wrote:

"The Rupert Allan complaint boggles the mind.

- 1) "Rupert Allan acknowledges (not once, but twice) that the Herald Examiner was willing to run his letter. What lack of adequate access?
- 2) "Rupert Allan complains about what was said by him for the record, We beg to disagree on this issue, which is as old as caveman communications.

"Please let me know what else I should do about this for The Council."

Staff examination: Titled "The Reagan Reign," the writers produced five articles. The one in which Mr. Allan was quoted appeared in the Herald Examiner on October 30, and was headlined: "Queen Nancy and Her Loyal Court," and sub-titled, "The Woman Who Would Be Queen." It was written in a gossipy style, containing phrases like, "Her majesty's bandwagon" and "will ascend to the throne" and described "a change in administrations from down-home Southern to worldly Western as dramatic as the restoration of the Hapsburgs." The article concentrated on what

was called "a startlingly tight-knit social group" and named a number of Mrs. Reagan's closest friends. The quote about "non-Jewish friends" was ascribed to "pal Rupert Allan."

This aspect drew criticism in The Sacramento Bee, one of the newspapers that published the article. The Bee's ombudsman, Art Nauman, protested in a column that "nothing that came before in the series laid any groundwork for that kind of grave implication. In fact...earlier in the same installment there were names of several people said to be part of the Reagan inner circle who are themselves Jews. Among them: Mrs. Jack Benny and Betsy Bloomingdale." Mr. Nauman quoted Mary Anne Dolan, Herald Examiner managing editor, as saying "We stand by the story and by the quote." Nauman's published response was that it was "questionable journalism,." He said that if the writers and editors "believed there was an element of truth behind the quote, they owed it to readers to explore it fully and openly." Mr. Nauman wrote that The Bee should have asked the authors or the editors for substantiation of what amounted to an accusation, and for more precise identification of the man making it...Failing that, I think the quote should have been dropped."

(For the record, Mr. Allan has been an executive in a Los Angeles public relations firm for some years. A St. Louisan, he was with The Post-Dispatch for a time and a writer for that newspaper's radio station, KSD. He went into the Navy in 1942 and left in '45 as a lieutenant commander; then became a State Department public affairs officer before joining West Coast film companies; and later being in the old LOOK magazine's West Coast bureau for five years. In his protest to Mr. Bellows, he referred to himself as part-Jewish. He recorded himself as Episcopalian in Who's Who).

There is unanimity in the Council staff that there can be no quarreling with Mr. Bellows' point that disagreements about who-said-what-when trace back to the first humans' abilities to communicate verbally.

However, in this electronic era, there is no paucity of good quality pocket-sized tape recorders. Because of its policy of not intruding into reporters' notes or out-takes, the first staff appraisal was not to pursue the "impression" conveyed in Mr. Allan's complaint that one of the reporters had made mention of a recording. Instead, the emphasis moved to an appraisal of the various sides of access and subsequently focus anew on the possibility of a tape.

Where access was concerned, Mr. Bellows was firm in refusing to discuss the matter, even with The Chicago Tribune, one of the newspapers that purchased the Herald Examiner series. Acknowledging reader comment and inquiry about the "non-Jewish friends" quote, The Tribune published a long news account carrying Mr. Allan's strong denial he had said such a thing. That story carried this passage:

Jim Bellows, editor of the Herald Examiner, refused to discuss the story with The Tribune, answering only, "We stand behind the story."

There can, of course, be no legal challenge to this position. In its Tornillo v. Miami Herald decision, the United States Supreme Court held that a Florida statute requiring such access to a complaining individual was unconstitutional and that an editor had an unchallengeable right to refuse to publish any letter.

The overwhelming majority of journalists praised the Tornillo decision, but there were also reservations held by some about the long-range philosophy. This latter view was outlined in the February, 1981, issue of The Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, by Professor Ben Bagdikian, widely known media critic, in this manner:

Papers continue to depend more on legal protection in fairness than in simple professional ethics. There was relief, including my own, when The Miami Herald won the Tornillo case. Few of us want judges making news decisions. But the fact is that The Miami Herald was wrong to have published a slashing attack on a candidate for office just before election and then to have refused to give him space for a response. The paper had the law on its side but not basic fairness.

Professor Bagdikian's comment is included not to register a point against the Herald Examiner, but to provide The Council with a broader framework about access.

Clearly, Mr. Allan's first mailgram to Mr. Bellows contained a different element. He asked for retraction of the quotations attributed to him. It is, therefore, understandable that Mr. Bellows would consider it mandatory that this type of demand be followed by a response, either by the writers or by the newspaper. Equally understandable was Mr. Allan's decision that any further reinforcement of the newspaper's stand would harm, rather than aid, his effort to rebut the statements.



This is a type of problem facing news organizations all the time and Council staff found itself exploring the subject to see if anything new or useful might be on the scene. The most concrete appraisal came from The Council's Associate Director Richard P. Cunningham, who has had years of success as The Minneapolis Tribune ombudsman. He wrote:

When a complaint is a matter of interpretation or opinion, it is clearly unfair for a newspaper to tack such a note on a complainant's letter. In a dispute over facts, the reader and the newspaper have interests that may go beyond the complainant's interest in fairness. The reader has an interest in getting enough information to decide who is right. The newspaper has an interest in explaining its position or in defending itself against an outright lie. None of these interests is properly served by the newspaper-stands-by-its-story rebuttal. This manifests a newspaper's refusal to engage in responsible rebuttal. On the other hand, I don't think the complainant should oppose an editor's note that limits itself to the facts upon which the newspaper based its belief that the disputed matter was correct."

It was at this stage that the staff felt emboldened to inquire about tape. If it existed and confirmed the Herald Examiner's quotations, then any issue about access would evaporate instantly and the complaint would clearly be without merit.

Hence, Mr. Allan's statement in his letter of complaint, that Harvey B. Schechter, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, had checks made with the newspaper about the "non-Jewish friends" statement and had relayed word that reporter Wanda McDaniel had given the impression that a tape recording existed, brought staff inquiry to Mr. Schechter. He confirmed Mr. Allan's assertion. Mr. Schechter said an ADL staff member has asked to borrow the tape or hear it and that the conversation was changed.

The matter was then posed to Mr. Bellows on a purely voluntary basis, with the offer to send a senior staff representative of The Council to Los Angeles immediately if this was agreeable. Mr. Bellows declined promptly. "We don't want to get into that," he said. "You ought to stick with the matter of access." He suggested a conversation with Ms. Dolan, the managing editor. She said that yes, there had been a taping, but added that she agreed with Mr. Bellows that the tape should not be made available. "I don't know where the tape is now," she said. "I have the transcript."

Totally unresolved is the matter of truth or falsity to Mr. Allan's assertion that he had stipulated that any conversation with the reporters was to be off the record and that if direct quotes were to be considered, he was to be checked. Neither Miss Cushing nor Miss McDaniel were available for comment. Both were reported out of the city on holiday.

In a later response to Council inquiries, Mr. Allan expressed bewilderment over what was described as a first interview on the telephone with Miss Cushing. "It was not an interview," he insisted, "but a social call. I've forgotten whether I called her or she called me. We chatted about her husband and her baby and she later mentioned Nancy Reagan and suggested lunch." He said that there had been a clear violation of his agreement with both reporters at the luncheon table that if they felt the need of a direct quote they would call him.

One of Ms. Dolan's remarks might possibly be interpreted to offer support for another of Mr. Allan's statements, that he had been told the original copy did not contain the controversial quote. Ms. Dolan said the quote was not in what she called "the raw copy." "I picked it up directly from the transcript," she said.

Ms. Dolan went on to say that she had put "more effort into trying to (soothe) Rupert Allan's feelings than anything I can recall." Asked about access and tape both, Ms. Dolan said: "I think the problem of access is serious. I really worry that a person's complaint might be right and whether we are doing right. But finally I had to throw up my hands over Rupert Allan. There is no question in my mind that Rupert Allan said what he did. Even if we were to produce tape, he would say it had been manufactured. There is no winning him over."

Mr. Allan's position to The Council was "I wish there had been a tape. If there is one, I hope The Council can hear it and judge accordingly. I have been damaged by the false quote. If there is tape evidence let it come out. I am confident it will vindicate me totally."

In summary, the staff can do no more than report the competing views. Mr. Allan's denials have been published in the two Chicago papers and in the New York Daily News. His position has not been reported in Los Angeles and he may have erred in not making his views clear, even with a strongly rebutting editor's note. At least, the conflict would have been public. It should be noted that in several aspects, his versions have not been shaken by subsequent analysis.

Granted that out-takes are generally considered protected work papers, this does not appear to the staff to be a matter of momentous proportions (except to Mr. Allan). If tape exists, it is difficult for the staff to fully grasp why it should not be produced in a challenge of this type. If, as the paper's executives hold, it verifies the published report, the newspaper's record for accurate reporting would be enhanced. It would set no legal precedent since the individual involved is willing

and submitted his complaint with the required waiver of any subsequent legal recourse.

Council Action: The appearance of the quote without examination is on its face bad journalism, and not only on the part of the Herald Examiner, but on the part of other newspapers that published it. The editors on these newspapers should have raised the questions that would have provided a framework for the quote or exposed it as not a reliable comment on the Reagans.

The Council finds the complaint warranted to the extent that it exposes poor journalistic practice in the editing of the quote. This poor practice is doubly indefensible when it involves a damaging imputation against a candidate on the eve of an election without the opportunity to reply.

Concurring: Brady, D. Bell, J. Bell, Decter, Ghiglione, Hornby, Huston, Isaacs, Maynard, Stanton and van den Haag.

Abstaining: Miller and Pulitzer.

March 6, 1981



MRD-FRG  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1981

Dear Mr. Romberg:

I appreciate your desire to meet with the President, but, unfortunately, right now there isn't enough time to do all the things that are absolutely necessary.

I am, however, enclosing an autographed picture for your desk.

If there is anything you would like to get directly to the President, send it directly to me and I will make sure he sees it.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Paul F. Romberg  
San Francisco State University  
1600 Holloway Avenue  
San Francisco, CA 94132



*San Francisco State University*

1600 HOLLOWAY AVENUE • SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94132

*Office of the President*

March 23, 1981

Mr. Mike Deaver  
The White House  
President's Office  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I do not know whether you remember me. I first became acquainted with you when I was Founding President of California State College, Bakersfield. If you will recall, President Reagan was present for the ground-breaking ceremonies. Since then, the Board of Trustees moved me to San Francisco State University where I have been President for the past eight years. I have never lost contact with the President because I so strongly believe in what he represents.

California Senator Ray Johnson has recently been in contact with your office and has indicated that I would like a few minutes with the President to discuss Taiwan and several other issues. I realize that the President's time is at a minimum, but I do ask your assistance in making this appointment.

I have also been in correspondence with Cap Weinberger who knows of my interest. If at all possible, I certainly would like a picture of the President for my desk to match the one I have with him when he was Governor.

Thank you very much for your help.

Sincerely,

Paul F. Romberg  
President

PFR/pt

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1981

Dear Larry:

Thanks for your note regarding Richard Neuheisel. Unfortunately, I was busy during that ceremony and wasn't able to say hello. Let me know if you are ever in town.

Warm regards,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Larry L. Royse  
5637 South Marine  
Tempe, AZ 85283

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PMS MICHAEL DEEVER

WHITE HOUSE DC

CONGRATULATIONS ON A JOB WELL-DONE. SURPRISED YOU DID NOT TAKE  
SECRETARY OF AIRFORCE SLOT. MY FRIEND RICHARD NEUHEISEL IS A LEADER  
AMONG THE SISTER CITY GROUP MEETING THE PRESIDENT FRIDAY. TAKE CARE  
OF HIM NOTWITHSTANDING HIS SON IS UCLA QUARTERBACK

LARRY L ROYSE

5637 SOUTH MARINE

TEMPE AZ 85283

NNNN

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1981

Dear Pete:

Sorry to be so long in responding to your note about Vincent R. Doherty. I have sent his resume to E. Pendleton James, Director of Presidential Personnel, for his review.

Thanks again for the name, and let me know when you are going to be in town.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. P. A. Gherini, Jr.  
Cow Hollow Investment Co.  
2001 Union Street  
San Francisco, CA 94123

VINCENT R. DOHERTY

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1981

Dear Lloyd:

Thanks for your note regarding Ron McIntyre.  
I have sent it on to Mr. E. Pendleton James,  
Director of Presidential Personnel, for his  
review.

Thanks sincerely for your continued interest.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Lloyd Waring  
35 Congress Street  
Boston, MA 02109

McINTYRE, Ron



THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 30, 1981

Dear Mr. Metters:

Thank you for your letter and brochure outlining your qualifications. I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to Mr. E. Pendleton James, Director of Presidential Personnel, for his review.

You should be hearing from his office shortly.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Sam Metters  
P.O. Box 1268  
1555 Wilson Blvd.  
Arlington, VA 22209

MRKD FILE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 30, 1981

Dear Mr. Jaques:

Thank you for taking the time to write me regarding employment in this administration. I have forwarded your resume and the copy of your letter to Mr. E. Pendleton James, Director of Presidential Personnel.

Thanks again for taking the time to write, Mr. Jaques, and good luck to you.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. David B. Jaques  
1105 S.W. 66th #3204  
Portland, OR 97225



WENDELL BAILEY  
8TH DISTRICT MISSOURI

504 CANNON BUILDING  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-5155

COMMITTEES:  
EDUCATION AND LABOR  
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**  
**Washington, D.C. 20515**

March 27, 1981

DISTRICT OFFICES:  
105 W. HIGH STREET  
P.O. Box 1806  
JEFFERSON CITY, MISSOURI 65102  
(314) 634-3331  
1039 KINGSHIGHWAY  
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(314) 341-2520  
319 LAFAYETTE STREET  
P.O. Box 358  
WASHINGTON, MISSOURI 63090  
(314) 239-7733

Mr. Mike Deaver  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

*File*  
*KA*

Dear Mr. Deaver:

I understand from Wayne Roberts, Deputy Director of Presidential Personnel, that he has forwarded my resume to you for consideration.

I am deeply interested in working on behalf of the Reagan Administration and have pursued various leads and contacts to fulfill this goal since before the election. In this regard, Stan Anderson, Bill Casselman, Wayne Roberts, Sean Randolph, the Missouri congressional delegation, and Senator Mark Hatfield, among others, have offered assistance. As a result, I understand that Presidential Personnel has forwarded my folder to several individuals including you, Dave Gergen, and the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations. I realize, however, that given the volume of staffing that it is easy to fall through the cracks and continue my pursuit.

I can only reiterate my enthusiasm to be a part of President Reagan's team, Mr. Deaver, and would appreciate any consideration or counsel you can offer.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

*Susan Livingstone*

Susan Livingstone  
Executive Assistant to  
Congressman Wendell Bailey

SL/s



*CURRICULUM VITAE*  
**Susan Morrissey Livingstone**

## **EDUCATION**

**M.A., M.A.L.D., Ph.D. candidate, The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy** (Tufts-Harvard). M.A.L.D. Thesis: "A Quarter Century of War: Perspective and Assessment of the October War in the Context of Contemporary Middle East History". Ph.D. general oral examination successfully completed 4/18/78 - Board: Dr. Robert L. Pfaltzgraff, Dr. Benjamin J. Cohen, Fletcher Academic Dean John P. Roche, and Dr. Allan B. Cole. Ph.D. dissertation pending.

**Ph.D. Coursework, Tufts University**, Department of Political Science, 1971-1972. Concentration: political theory and international affairs. Awarded NDEA Fellowship and full tuition scholarship.

**M.A., University of Montana**, Department of Political Science, awarded in 1972. Received full tuition scholarship and graduate assistantship.

**A.B., College of William and Mary, 1968**. Majors: philosophy and psychology. Activities and awards: Outstanding Senior Women's Award for Service and Leadership, Dean's List, Student Association Representative, Debate Team, Senior Class Representative on Academic Affairs, Psychology and French honorary clubs, Kappa Kappa Gamma (pledge class president, second vice-president, won efficiency award for college chapter out of five-state province), reporter for student newspaper, representative to Freshman Orientation and Honor Council Orientation, Chairman of Entertainment for Parents' Day.

**Salutatorian, Summerville High School**, Summerville, South Carolina, 1964.

## **CONGRESSIONAL WORK EXPERIENCE**

**Executive Assistant to Congressman Wendell Bailey**, 1/3/81 - present. Primary duties: Special projects and congressional operations advisor, speechwriter, consultant on legislation and issues.

**Administrative Assistant to Congressman Richard H. Ichord**, 8/75 - 1/2/81 Primary duties: Chief of staff and administrator of office operations and production, chief speechwriter, political and special projects advisor, campaign and fundraising management, coordinator of legislative focus and issue development, constituent and interest group relations.

**Chief Legislative and Press Assistant to Congressman Richard H. Ichord**, 9/73 - 8/75. Primary duties: Initiation and tracking of legislation, responsible for drafting all press releases, newsletters, speeches and committee testimony, advisor on domestic and international issues..

**Assistant to Senator Mark O. Hatfield**, 2/69 - 9/70 Primary duties: Writing of speeches, testimony and articles, issue and legislative research and reports in domestic and international areas, interest group relations. Left to undertake graduate studies.

## **OTHER WORK EXPERIENCE**

**Consultant, 1973 (summer)**. Completed lengthy federal contracting and decision-flow analysis of the Department of Transportation for an international A & E firm in Washington, D.C. Wrote centerpiece for the Center for Public Financing of Elections, Washington, D.C.

**Political Consultant and Freelance Writer, 1972 (summer)**. Wrote and directed commercials and political films for congressional and senatorial races. Wrote campaign speeches, backgrounders and position papers. Wrote commercial script for a national award-winning 28 minute travelogue. Wrote script for a state-sponsored film on mental retardation.

**Researcher for the Bureau of Government Research, University of Montana, 1970-1971** (academic years). Wrote paper on "Legislative Apportionment Commissions."

**Researcher for the Department of Philosophy, College of William and Mary, 1966-1968** (academic years).



**Counselor for the City of Alexandria, Virginia**, Summer Program for Exceptional Children (mentally retarded and economically disadvantaged youth), 1966 and 1967 (summers).

**Related Volunteer Work**: Labor Coordinator, Arnold Olsen Congressional Campaign, Montana, 1968 - Volunteer assistant at Eastern State Mental Hospital near Williamsburg, Virginia, 1964-1968. Summer camp counselor at Charleston Air Force Base, South Carolina, 1962-1963. Counselor to Girl's State, Columbia, South Carolina, 1964-Survey researcher for the Community Action Agency in James City County, Virginia, 1968.

## **PROFESSIONAL CONFERENCES, SEMINARS, ASSOCIATIONS**

Participant, dinners and seminars at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1969-1970 and 1973 - present.

Participant, Brookings Institute Dinner for members of the Administrative Assistants Association.

Speaker for the U.S. Civil Service Commission's top level management seminars. Topic: perspective and procedures of the U.S. House of Representatives from the view of an Administrative Assistant, 1977-1980.

Participant, German-American Conference on "National Security Policy and Decision-Making", co-hosted by the Konrad Adenauer Stiftung and the Georgetown University Center for Strategic and International Studies, Bonn and Berlin, Germany, December 4-10, 1977.

Member of the House Administrative Assistants Association, 1979-1980.

Member of the Washington area Alumni Board of The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

## **SECURITY CLEARANCE**

Top secret: received 2/18/76 on a need-to-know basis in connection with my position with Congressman Richard H. Ichord. Renewed 1/81 on need-to-know basis in connection with my position with Congressman Wendell Bailey.

## **PERSONAL**

### *Current Home Address*

1220 Watergate South  
700 New Hampshire Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037  
(202) 342-0309

### *Permanent Address*

1025 Stuart Street  
Helena, Montana 59601  
(406) 442-4100

### *Current Work Address*

504 Cannon House Office Building  
Washington, D.C. 20515  
(202) 225-5155

Date of Birth: 1/13/46

Social Security Number: 247-78-7318

Marital Status: Married on 8/30/68 to Neil C. Livingstone; no children



MARK O. HATFIELD, OREG., CHAIRMAN

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DALE BUMPERS, ARK.

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

March 5, 1981

J. KEITH KENNEDY, STAFF DIRECTOR  
THOMAS L. VAN DER VOORT, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

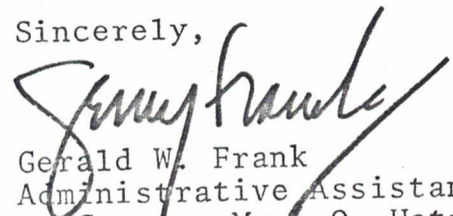
Ms. Susan Livingstone  
Executive Assistant to  
Congressman Wendell Bailey  
504 Cannon Building  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Susan:

Thank you for contacting me to let me know of your interest in a position in the new Administration. I am delighted that you are seeking this promotion and am happy to be of assistance in your efforts. You know of my high regard for your work when you were with Senator Hatfield. He has written to Pendleton James and endorsed your appointment to a post at the White House, the Office of Management and Budget or the State Department. We wish you success in this venture.

With warm regards.

Sincerely,



Gerald W. Frank  
Administrative Assistant  
to Senator Mark O. Hatfield

GWF:jhr

Congress of the United States  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

February 5, 1981

E. Pendleton James  
Director of Personnel  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

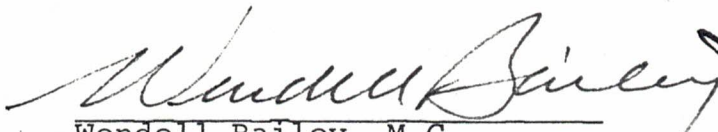
Dear Pen:

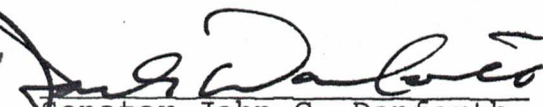
As Republican members of the Missouri Congressional Delegation, we wish to advise you of our support of Mrs. Susan Livingstone for appointment to a position with the Reagan Administration. Susan was previously Administrative Assistant to our colleague, Dick Ichord, and is currently Executive Assistant to Congressman Wendell Bailey.


While Susan's 9 year Hill experience would be particularly suited to White House Congressional Liaison, we feel her administrative and professional skills could be well-utilized in a number of White House offices as well as O.M.B. or State, and would greatly appreciate your consideration of her.


With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
Wendell Bailey, M.C.

  
Senator John C. Danforth

  
Gene Taylor, M.C.

  
Bill Emerson, M.C.

cc: Max L. Friedersdorf  
Director of Legislative Affairs

WASHINGTON INDUSTRIAL TEAM  
(WITCO)

Suite 400, Fairchild Building  
499 South Capitol Street, SW  
Washington, D. C. 20003

February 11, 1981

Mr. E. Pendleton James  
Director of Personnel  
The White House  
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Pen:

We wish to convey our strong recommendation of Mrs. Susan Livingstone for a position with the Reagan Administration. Susan's attached resume details her academic and professional background, and we would draw attention to her excellent organizational skills combined with broad issue knowledge and analytical and writing abilities.


While Susan's foremost interest lies in working on the White House staff, her background also would be ably suited to O.M.B., Commerce, or State. In the latter agency, Susan has expressed interest in Policy Planning, the Office of Chief of Protocol, and the Office of the Under Secretary of State for Management.

We appreciate your consideration, Pen, and can assure you that Susan would be an excellent and loyal member of the new Administration.

With kindest personal regards, we are

Sincerely,

  
Bob Wilson  
Member of Congress/Retired

  
Richard H. Ichord  
Member of Congress/Retired

cc: Max Friedersdorf  
Ed Meese  
Mike Deaver  
James Baker

bcc: ✓ Susan Livingstone

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1981

Dear Mr. Hoffman:

Thanks for your recommendation of Andrew W. Green. I have taken the liberty of passing it along to William P. Clark, Jr., Deputy Secretary of State. I can assure you we will give him very strong consideration and I will get back to you on this.

Secondly, I have passed the name of James P. Guyer along to E. Pendleton James, Director of Presidential Personnel.

Thanks so much for these good suggestions.

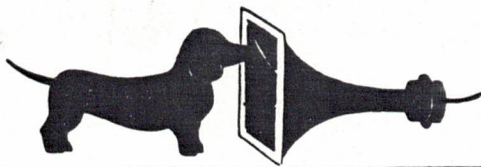
Warm regards,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Gordon Hoffman  
Gordon Associates  
Fair Acres Farm  
Leola, PA 17540

ANDREW GREEN





*This Is Sound Business...*

*Gordon Associates*

• FAIR ACRES FARM •

LEOLA, PA. 17540 •

717-656-2256

March 16, 1981

Dear Mike:

I am pleased to recommend Andrew W. Green for the position of Ambassador to either Portugal or the European Communities. He is superbly qualified for both positions. Let me say why by discussing in order the following reasons why I am so confident in recommending him:

My acquaintance with him  
His character  
His education  
His experience  
His activity as a Reagan supporter and Republican

Party worker

His special qualifications for the posts sought  
His friends

Most important in the consideration of anyone for a high position is a man's character. I first came to know Andy in 1976 when we worked for Reagan's nomination. Since that time I have been in constant touch with him - once or twice a week. We have been involved in almost all of the major developments in the Pennsylvania Republican Party in this period - nomination of governor, selection of state committee, selection of state chairman, etc., etc., and during all of this time, I have found him to be without exception a person of complete honesty and integrity, able to keep confidences, loyal to his friends and associates. Furthermore, he is a man of principle and conviction and believes solidly in the conservative values of President Reagan.

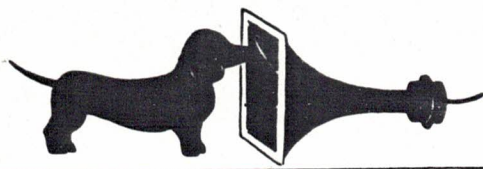
Let me now discuss the more traditional qualifications - education and experience - in a general way, before getting into his special qualifications for the posts for which he is being considered.

His education is outstanding. He went to Princeton, left to serve as a weather officer in the Air Force in World War II, graduated from Dickinson Law School, holds a M.B.A from Wharton, and the Ph.D. degree from Penn. He also has a diploma from the University of Amsterdam in European Studies (M.A. equivalent). He thus has training in law, economics, and international relations from the best schools.

His experience is also varied and unusual. He has served in state government (Pennsylvania Public Utility Commission and Pennsylvania Department of Highways) in a legal capacity, practiced law privately for several years, and lived in Brussels for four years while studying the European Communities. More recently, he has been professor of business administration at West Chester State College, and professor of law at Delaware Law School of Widener University. He lived for four years in Brussels, as I stated before, while writing his book on the European Communities Court of Justice.

He has been active in Pennsylvania Republican politics for many years. He ran as a Reagan delegate in 1976 and 1980, narrowly missing election in both occasions.





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-2-

In 1977 he was a conservative candidate for the nomination to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court, receiving about 20% of the vote in a four man race. He was general counsel to the Pennsylvania Reagan for President Committee last spring, and general counsel for the Pennsylvania Reagan-Bush Committee in the fall. In 1976, he was one of the "Reagan irregulars" who worked with me, ignoring the wishes of the regular party leaders. As you know, we got ten "hard" delegates, and many more "soft" ones. This resulted from the efforts of those like Andy and myself. In other words, Andy's services to the Reagan cause far exceed what can be set forth in a few words about the positions he has held or offices for which he has run.

Now to say something about his qualifications for the particular posts he is seeking.

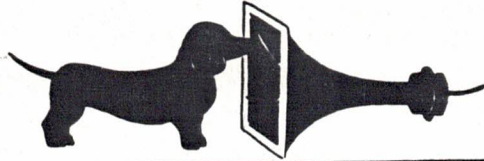
First of all, he has acceptance as a professional in the international affairs community. He has been a member for several years of the Advisory Council of the Republican National Committee on National Security and International Affairs. He has been a research associate of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, and worked with David Abshire and Richard Allen there. He has been a research associate of the Foreign Policy Research Institute and worked with William Kintner and Robert Strausz-Hupe.

As for Ambassador to Portugal, he knows the Portuguese language, has spent many summers there, and has acquaintances among high officials in Portugal. For example, he is a friend of Leonardo Matias, the new Undersecretary of Foreign Affairs in Portugal. He has followed economic, social and political conditions in Portugal for many years. The critical situation in Portugal requires some one sensitive to Portugal's strategic role in NATO. In this regard, Andy was European Representative of the Center for Strategic and International Studies at the time it prepared (1969) its study on NATO, and was responsible for making the appointment schedule for the Task Force which made this study in the various European capitals. He also spent several weeks in 1971 interviewing officials at the cabinet level for the NATO study made by the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

As a strategist, I have first-hand knowledge of this through his work in Pennsylvania Republican politics. He and I have had many successes here these last four years.

With regard to the other post - that of Ambassador to the European Communities - he is fluent in French, and, to reiterate, lived four years in Brussels writing his outstanding book on the Court of Justice of the Communities. This book is a required holding in all British law schools. He has many friends in Brussels, and through his social connections there he was able to be a member of the Cercle Gaulois, and the Chateau Ste. Anne, the two best social clubs in Brussels (equivalent to the Bohemian Club). And there is his degree from Amsterdam - his training in law and economics. He is eminently qualified for this post as a technician and specialist in European Community affairs.

You could not get better qualified people for these two posts from the Foreign Service (whose exam - incidentally - he passed in 1946 and chose to complete law



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-3-

school rather than take this position for which he was confirmed by the Senate).

Let me talk about friends and others who will recommend him if called upon to do so. Secretary Richard S. Schweiker of the Department of Health and Human Services, Secretary Drew Lewis of the Department of Transportation, Professor Homer G. Angelo of the University of California Law School at Davis (an old friend of Senator Paul Laxalt), Professor Richard F. Staar, Acting Director of the Hoover Institute. This does not begin to exhaust the list of professional and political friends and adversaries who will recommend him highly.

Let me just sum it up by saying that Andy is a great person with lots of ability and a hard worker. Just check with Dick Staar about Andy's performance on the transition team. He believes in the Reagan policies, both domestically and abroad. His character is excellent - man of principle and integrity, but at the same time he is a person of discretion. In working with him in Pennsylvania politics, I have found he knows when to speak up and when to be silent, in order to achieve the goal. He understands the flexibility needed in the diplomatic position he seeks.

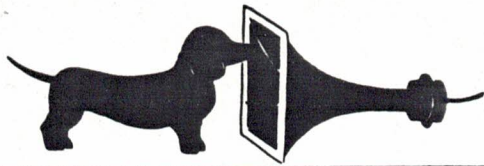
He would be a real asset to the Reagan Administration, and his appointment would enable the Reagan Administration to achieve its foreign policy goals. I do not have to say how important it is to have reliable people in the critical diplomatic posts - not people who have spent their lives bending to the whims of each succeeding administration, but who have been fighting in the political trenches over the years so that we could have a Reagan Administration.

All together for better government

*Gordon*

Gordon





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• LEOLA, PA. 17540

• 717-656-2256

P.S.

There is one factor which you should know about - he is also being considered for another high post in the Administration - that of General Counsel for the Veterans Administration. This came about largely accidentally.

He was working for Dick Staar on the Transition Team, and was given the task of working on the Briefing Manual for the new Veterans Administrator. In this connection he met Nicholas Longworth, the assistant to William Ayers, who headed the Task Force on the Veterans Administration. Nick asked Andy if he would consider submitting his name for General Counsel of the V.A., and he agreed to do so, not knowing anything about what his chances were for Ambassador to Portugal or the Communities. This matter has moved pretty far along, and Dick Staar saw Pen James about Andy for this position a couple of weeks ago, and has written a letter for Andy at Pen James' suggestion.

See the attached copy of the letter which Dick Staar wrote to Pen James which Andy gave me. Andy would prefer one of the Ambassadorships, but wants to serve the Reagan Administration wherever his abilities are thought to be best used. So it would seem as if some check should be made with Pen James on the matter. In all fairness to Andy, he should not be turned down for one position, without some assurance he will get the other.

ALEXANDER MAKINSKY

13, RUE MOLIERE  
75001 PARIS FRANCE

February 23, 1981

Mike -  
please hold this letter  
with confidentiality.  
Gordon

Dear Andrew,

Thanks ever so much for your letter of February 11th which I found on my desk on my return from Switzerland.

Believe or not, André Gonçalves Pereira, the new Foreign Minister of Portugal is a close friend of mine whom I have known since his childhood, and so is the new Undersecretary Leonardo Matias. I shall see what I can do about the question you brought up, but I am afraid it is difficult to do it through correspondence. I shall therefore make a trip to Portugal as soon as I get back from Washington at the end of April.

Yes, I would like very much to meet Richard Allen. If you or your friends could send me a note of introduction to him I would be most grateful.

If my recollection is correct he was very close to the Portuguese Government of the pre-revolutionary days, and he might be interested in meeting someone who is a friend of the present leaders. By the way, the new Turkish Foreign Minister Ilter Türkmen and the Greek Foreign Minister Mitsotakis, as well as George Rallis the Prime Minister are likewise old friends of mine.

With warmest regards,

As ever,



Alexander Makinsky

Dr. Andrew Wilson Green  
Attorney at Law  
Etienne N°2, Arborescence  
Berwyn Baptist Road  
Devon, Pennsylvania 19333, USA

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES  
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20201

NOV 13 1981

Mr. Andrew W. Green  
Etienne No. 2, Arbordeau  
Berwyn Baptist Road  
Devon, Pennsylvania 19333

Dear Andy:

Thanks very much for your recent letter.

As a cabinet member, the Secretary cannot appropriately inject himself in personnel decisions outside the Department of Health and Human Services but he would be glad to have his name listed as a reference.

Thank you for writing. Good Luck!

Sincerely,



David Newhall, III  
Executive Assistant to the Secretary/  
Executive Secretary of the Department

ROBERT J. DOLE, KANS., CHAIRMAN

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GEORGE J. MITCHELL, MAINE

## United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

ROBERT E. LIGHTHIZER, CHIEF COUNSEL  
MICHAEL STERN, MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR

March 2, 1981

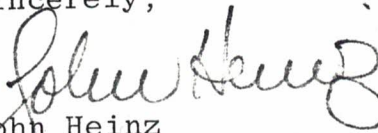
Mr. Andrew Green  
Etienne No. 2, Arboardeau  
Berwyn Baptist Road  
Devon, PA 19333

Dear Mr. Green:

Thank you for your letter letting me know that you are under consideration for the position of General Counsel of the Veterans Administration. I will be glad to send a note to Pen James, as requested, on your behalf in the hope it will be helpful.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

  
John Heinz  
United States Senate

JH/ml



# HOOVER INSTITUTION

ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE

Stanford, California 94305



March 2, 1981

Mr. E. Pendleton James  
Assistant to the President  
for Presidential Personnel  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue  
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Pen:

As per discussion in your office last week, I am pleased to recommend Andrew W. Green for the position of General Counsel in the Veterans Administration. He has the experience, knowledge, abilities and character required for this important position. In addition, he served with me in the transition office of Policy Coordination and has been a Reagan supporter for many years. He is, thus, both deserving and qualified.

Andy has been a friend of mine for over thirty years. We met when he was a law student, and I was an undergraduate, at Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania.. I visited his home many times, and over the years we have remained in contact. I feel I know him quite well. We have both worked in the international field - he in law, and I in foreign policy. I recommended him also for his professional work in a field related to mine.

In particular, I would like to call attention to the work he did with me during the transition period. He wrote the briefing manual for the Veterans Administration. This means he is familiar with the most important current problems he would have to deal with, if he were V.A. General Counsel. More importantly, his work this past December and January gave me an opportunity to observe his present abilities. As you know, it was my responsibility to supervise preparation of briefing manuals for twelve government agencies and departments in the national security field. Dr. Green prepared two excellent and thorough briefing manuals. I am confident, therefore, in recommending him for this position on the basis of his work.

The experience which he would bring to this position, as a law school and business administration professor, a writer, practicing lawyer and former state government official, are all set forth in his resumé, so I will not repeat them here. There are qualifications which do not appear on his resumé. He ran as a Reagan delegate from Pennsylvania in both 1976 and 1980, closely missing election both times. He served in the recent presidential campaign as General Counsel for the Pennsylvania Reagan for President Committee, and then in the same capacity for the Pennsylvania Reagan-Bush Committee.

/...

Andrew W. Green 3/2/81

Andy has good friends in Pennsylvania who speak well of him. He worked closely with Drew Lewis in the Reagan for President Committee, as indicated. And I believe his appointment will meet with approval from the two senators from Pennsylvania, Heinz and Spector, both of whom know him.

May I end by saying that Andy's appointment to this position would bring credit to the Reagan Administration, because he will do an outstanding job in this important post.

Best personal wishes and

Cordially,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dick", with a large, stylized initial "D" and a trailing flourish.

Richard F. Staar  
Director  
International Studies Program

Enclosure: (1)

bcc: Dr. A W. Green

# HOOVER INSTITUTION

ON WAR, REVOLUTION AND PEACE

Stanford, California 94305



January 29, 1981

Dr. Andrew Wilson Green  
Attorney at Law  
Etienne No. 2, Arbordeau  
Berwyn Baptist Road  
Devon, PA 19333

Dear Andy:

Many thanks for your good letter of the 26th. Everything seems to be moving slowly, and I am not surprised that VA is like State or DoD. Please let me know when you move to Washington.

✓ I appreciated our association and the work you did, i.e., twice as much as anybody else. It will be recognized, I am sure.

Too bad we could not get together, because our wives would have enjoyed meeting.

We returned this past Monday, since the last two briefing books were not ready until the day before (i.e., five days after the Inauguration).

Best wishes to both of you, and my sincere thanks again.

Cordially,

Richard F. Staar  
Acting Director

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: WENDY BORCHERDT  
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
SUBJECT: Memo Re: John Conlon, Jr.

In regard to your memorandum about John Conlon, Jr.,  
I believe he is being considered for a regulatory  
commission rather than an ambassadorship.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: JAY MOORHEAD  
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
SUBJECT: Ambassadorial Post

Nancy Reagan would like Mr. John Pritzhoff, Phoenix, Arizona, to be considered for an ambassadorial post. His principal interest is Singapore.

Her second candidate is Mark Oster, former Ambassador to Norway. His interest is in Finland, Sweden or the Netherlands.

Thirdly, can we get in for consideration Mr. Faith Whittelsly. She was the County Chairman in Pennsylvania. I would like her considered for an ambassadorship.

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 27, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: JAY MOORHEAD  
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
SUBJECT: Bruce Caputo

Helene Von Damm strongly suggests we find a job  
for Bruce Caputo.

Resume attached



MRD-FILE

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 25, 1981

MEMORANDUM

TO: JAY MOORHEAD  
FROM: MICHAEL K. DEAVER *mmk*  
SUBJECT: Gerald Ford Recommendations

Gerald Ford recommended the following to be considered for Ambassadors. This was a hand written note to the President and I am sorry I can't read it too well, but will pass on the names as best I can read it:

Keith L. Brown - South Africa

Robert E. Moyers - Greece

J. D. Allen - No country designated

Mark Evans - Austad, Norway

Joseph J. Eley - Ireland

AMBASSADORAL

**REMEMBER**

- 15th ANNUAL -

1981

RED JACKET DINNER - JUNE 7

BOGIE BUSTER - JUNE 8-9

<sup>Vance</sup>  
Marotta - Italy

<sup>Politt</sup>  
Phenney -

Brown (Keith) - So. Africa

Sley - Ireland

Moyers - Moscow

J. D. Allen -

Mark Evans Austad - Norway

*Ed*

LAUGHTER CORP. - DAYTON, OHIO

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 25, 1981

Dear Mrs. Lane:

It was very nice of you to write on behalf of your niece, Mary E. Dooley. I'm sure she would appreciate your effort if she knew.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to Mr. E. Pendleton James, Director of Presidential Personnel, for his information and review.

Again, thank you for writing.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEEVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mrs. Elizabeth J. Lane  
4201 Mass. Ave. N.W.  
Washington, DC 20016

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 24, 1981

Dear Mr. Bernstein:

Thank you for recommending Mr. Karney Hodge for the position of Chairman of the National Endowment of the Arts.

I suggest you ask Mr. Hodge to immediately send a resume to Mr. E. Pendleton James, Director of Presidential Personnel, for his information and review.

Thank you again for taking the time to inform me about the capabilities of Mr. Hodge.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL K. DEAVER  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff

Mr. Mark R. Bernstein  
Grier, Parker, Poe, Thompson,  
Bernstein, Gage & Preston  
1100 Cameron-Brown Bldg.  
301 South McDowell Street  
Charlotte, North Carolina 28204

*Resumed*  
*Resume*

LAW OFFICES OF  
GRIER, PARKER, POE, THOMPSON, BERNSTEIN, GAGE & PRESTON

1100 CAMERON-BROWN BUILDING  
301 SOUTH MCDOWELL STREET  
CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA 28204

FRANCIS O. CLARKSON  
OF COUNSEL

AREA CODE 704  
372-6730

JOSEPH W. GRIER, JR.  
FRANCIS I. PARKER  
WILLIAM E. POE  
SYDNOR THOMPSON  
MARK R. BERNSTEIN  
GASTON H. GAGE  
JAMES Y. PRESTON  
W. SAMUEL WOODARD  
MAX E. JUSTICE  
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March 17, 1981

Mr. Michael K. Deeever  
Assistant to the President  
Deputy Chief of Staff  
Whitehouse  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Deeever:

I am the Chairman of The Board of The American Symphony Orchestra League. However, this letter is being written by me personally and not on behalf of the League.

I have been informed that my good friend, Mr. Karney Hodge of Fresno, California has been recommended to President Reagan for the position of Chairman of the National Endowment of the Arts. I enthusiastically recommend Mr. Hodge and believe him to be highly qualified for this position. During the past ten years I have had the pleasure of working very closely with Mr. Hodge in The American Symphony Orchestra League. Mr. Hodge was a conscientious and dedicated Chairman of The Board of the League for a period of three years. Under his leadership, the League affected a major reorganization of its staff and is now, in my opinion, capable of successfully carrying out its mission to the 1,500 orchestras in the United States.

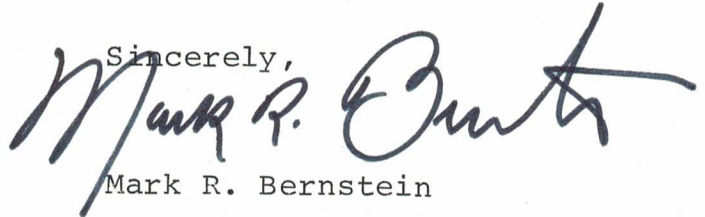
As a Westerner, I believe that Mr. Hodge would be particularly attractive in this position. He has been a former President of the Fresno Philharmonic, he has also served as a member of the California Arts Council and in numerous other responsible positions of community service.

Mr. Michael K. Deever  
Page Two  
March 17, 1981

If I can personally be of any further assistance in providing information which would be helpful to you about Mr. Hodge's background, please do not hesitate to get in touch with me.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Mark R. Bernstein". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "M" and a long, sweeping tail that extends to the right.

Mark R. Bernstein

MRB:ms  
cc: Mr. Karney Hodge